

*Per After the Peace with
America
1867*

THE
IMPORTANT DEBATE
OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS,
ON
MR. COKE'S MOTION FOR AN
ADDRESS.

[Price One Shilling.]

THE

AMERICAN

AND

THE

A New Ministry:

THE
VERY IMPORTANT DEBATE
OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS,
ON
MR. COKE'S MOTION

FOR AN
ADDRESS TO HIS MAJESTY,

* Requesting that he would be graciously pleased to take into his royal Consideration, the distressed Situation of the Country from the Calamities of a long and ruinous War, and that he would choose such an Administration as may deserve the Confidence of the People, and relieve them from the distracted State of their Country."

On MONDAY, MARCH 24, 1783.

A LIST OF THE SPEAKERS:

Mr. COKE,
Mr. Chancellor PITT,
Lord SURREY,
M. BULLER,
Mr. MARTIN.
Mr. HILL,
Mr. FOX,

Governor JOHNSTONE,
Mr. JENKINSON.
M. MACDONALD,
Sir CHARLES TURNER,
Lord NORTH,
Lord J. CAVENDISH, and
Sir JOSEPH MAWBEE.

L O N D O N;

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MDCCLXXXIII.

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OF THE

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

OF THE

ADDRESS TO THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS
IN THE YEAR 1790
BY
JAMES O'NEILL
OF THE COUNTY OF DUBLIN
AND OF THE PARISH OF ST. PATRICK'S
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OF THE COUNTY OF DUBLIN
AND OF THE PARISH OF ST. PATRICK'S

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HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MARCH 24, 1783.

THE order of the day being read,

LORD LEWISHAM.

I move that the order for council to be heard on the Bilston Navigation bill, be postponed until this day fortnight.

MR. COKE.

Before I move the Address, which I postponed from Friday until this day, in hopes that an administration would be formed, that might deserve the confidence of this country, I beg leave to be positively informed whether such an arrangement be made or not?

Mr. Chancellor PITT.

The question which the Hon. Gentleman has asked, I cannot answer entirely. Whether an administration is formed that may deserve

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serve the confidence of the country, is a question I really could not determine, if I knew there was an arrangement made. For, I know not what sort of an administration could deserve the confidence of the country, agreeable to the present system of opinions. However, in regard to whether there be an arrangement made or not, I can very clearly and positively assert, that I know of none.

Mr. COKE.

In consequence of the present state of the nation, being left without an efficient government, I find myself indispensably obliged to bring forward a motion, which I hoped and trusted to have found this day unnecessary. But since I have been so positively informed by the right hon. gentleman, (Mr. Chancellor Pitt) that we have no responsible administration to conduct the affairs of the empire, at this very critical and important period, I now find it more particularly my duty, both to my constituents and my country, that I should move the Address which I had proposed for last Friday. Nothing can evince the necessity of our addressing his Majesty for an administration who may deserve the confidence of the people, more than every business, both political and commercial, being now suspended for the want of an efficient and responsible administration. I shall, therefore, move you, Sir, "That an humble

ble Address be presented to his Majesty, requesting that he would be graciously pleased to take into his royal consideration, the distressed situation of the country from the calamities of a long and ruinous war, and that he would choose such an administration as may deserve the confidence of the people; and relieve them from the distracted state of their country."

Lord SURREY.

Although I consider the principle of addressing his Majesty on a matter that so immediately concerns the exercise of his prerogative, as that of choosing his ministers; as having a dangerous tendency to destroy, or at least affect, that equilibrium which constitutes the principle of our government; yet I must accord to the necessity of the Address now moved by the honourable gentleman (Mr. Coke). When I consider the absolute interruption of our commerce, and the natural exigencies of the state, which demand an immediate attention from government, I cannot but vote for an Address which is so indispensable for the preservation of the interest and honour of the country. I do not give it my support or countenance from any principle of espousing or opposing any party. My desire in seeing this Address carried to the throne is, merely that of restoring order, unanimity, and efficiency to a government,

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which

which has been so long suspended, to the disgrace and injury of the nation.

Mr. BULLER.

The complaints which the noble Lord (Lord Surrey) has made, respecting the want of a government in this country, I agree, are justly founded. But, at the same time, I do not think this suspension has arisen from the cause to which it is generally ascribed. I do not imagine that it arises from any influence or advice, from any persons who may be supposed to have certain interests or prejudices to gratify. I rather think it has arisen, from a want of concurrence in those who are expected to take their share of the ministry. Although I consider this motion necessary for the purpose of a competent administration being immediately formed, yet I should have hoped, had it been deferred a few days longer, it would have been found unnecessary, by an arrangement having been formed by that time. However, I shall not oppose, but give my vote for the Address.

MR. MARTIN.

I have always uniformly opposed the principles which have been adopted by the noble Lord in the blue ribband from conviction; and, indeed, as experience has since proved, because I thought them repugnant to every principle on which our interest or honour could depend.

depend. I cannot, therefore, but condemn a coalition which tends to give a confidence and authority to a person who has been ultimately the destruction of the empire. I am sorry to be under the necessity of censuring those who have given their countenance to a man, whom I have formerly joined to condemn on principles of prudence, policy, and real patriotism. The final cause of this coalition cannot be but to give him a share of that power and authority which we have found he has so grossly abused, to the destruction of our glory and greatness—if not to our absolute national existence. But, however, I shall not oppose the principle of this motion, from a conviction of the necessity of an immediate administration being formed that may deserve the confidence of the country. Notwithstanding, were I certain that it would be the consequence of bringing the noble Lord again into power, it would certainly receive my determinate negative: for I conceive, that he can never deserve confidence of the people, whose principles and conduct have been found so inimical and destructive to their interests.

Mr. HILL.

From the state of the country, I cannot but agree to the Address which has been moved by the honourable gentleman (Mr. Coke) and seconded by the noble Lord (Lord Surrey).

Surrey). Yet I hope, whatever be its consequences with regard to other gentlemen, it will not produce this bad consequence—that of driving from the service of the country one of the greatest and ablest characters it has to boast. Great, indeed, are his abilities—although he is young in years. But as great and wonderful as his faculties are, yet I am certain of his country receiving their advantages in a much more eminent degree than they have yet derived from their exertion: so that I may say of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Chancellor Pitt) *Tu Marcellus eris!* Sorry should I be to see a gentleman of such brilliant faculties, and such honest principles, without the pale of his country's service. I had intended to have moved an amendment to this Address; but since I find that the principle of my amendment is fully contained in the meaning and intention of the Address itself, I shall not impede its being passed by any impertinent interruption: for the principle of my amendment being to exclude certain persons from having any share in the new arrangement, who had been found undeserving of the confidence of the people in the vote which has lately passed this House, I consider is fully stated and implied in that part of the Address which requests his Majesty to form an Administration, which may be found deserving the confidence of the country. I have now
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only to conclude, with wishing to see such an Administration as may restore this country to its wonted state of vigour, dispel the distractions of parties, and give perfect confidence and security to the people.

Mr. FOX.

Since the honourable gentleman who spoke last (Mr. Hill) has thought proper to withdraw his intention of moving his amendment to the Address, in consequence of his conceiving the principle to be contained in the Address itself, I must express my approbation of his conduct. For had he moved this amendment, it would necessarily have occasioned me the trouble of moving another amendment, or rather an amendment of an amendment. I am, therefore, under an obligation to the honourable gentleman for saving me this trouble. Had he thought proper to have moved an amendment for the proscription of those who could not receive the confidence of the country from certain resolutions which have been passed by this House on their conduct, I should in that case have moved for the proscription of those who have been the cause of that Peace which has been found so justly reprobated, not being such a Peace as the situation of the country could justify. By this means, certain persons with whom I have the honour to have an interest, would have found themselves particularly

cularly complimented. For I trust there are persons who may be thought proper objects for members of administration, who could not be included in either of these amendments. However, I have nothing more to say on this point, since the honourable gentleman has thought proper to avoid making his amendment. But there is a kind of language which has been used by certain gentlemen in this business which I can by no means approve. I cannot agree to the necessity of using his Majesty's name in parliament. It is unconstitutional, unparliamentary, and indecent. It is by no means becoming that reverence which is due to the dignity of the sovereign character. I therefore do most earnestly deprecate all reference to the conduct of Majesty, in what must always be considered as the act of the minister. It must not be considered as the act of Majesty that we have been these five weeks without a government. No! it is clearly to be seen where it has originated. Go to the other House: there you will see clearly displayed the traits of the conduct which has suspended the operations of government. There you will see that darkness, that difficulty, that sullenness which has been the characteristic features that countenance this delay of arrangement. We have been now deprived of any responsible and personal government for these five weeks past. Three weeks of the time was employed

ed in a manner very different from that principle, which should have urged the necessity of establishing a ministry formed of such men as would be found competent to the business entrusted to their management. But, however we may have been deprived of this personal government, yet we have had one in the interim, formed on the true principle which constitutes the virtue and power of every government. We have had a government that has acted by the pure dictates of parliament, independent of either controul or intrigue.

In regard to what has fallen from the noble lord who seconded the motion, that he thought addressing his Majesty on his choice of his ministers was an infringement of prerogative, I must confess that I see in it no such tendency. Although I am not one of those who would wish to see any unjust or improper freedom taken with the name, character, or authority of Majesty, yet I cannot think the exercise of the legislative power the least infringement of the executive. Surely parliament has a right to demand a government! And what does this Address contain more than an humble request that his Majesty would give to the immediate necessities of the country, an administration as may be found competent to the concerns of the nation, and deserving the confidence of the people! But was this an illegal exercise of our power? Are we not

countenanced in its exercise by that exercise of prerogative which is contained in the concluding words of his Majesty's speech to parliament? There his Majesty thought proper to dictate the duty which parliament was to observe. His Majesty thought proper to say—speaking of the necessity of our attention to the state and exigencies of the country, that “*my people demand it—and I call for it.*” Should not we, therefore, on our part, have the privilege of saying in the present state of the nation, that “*the people demand an administration, and we call for it?*” To enforce the necessity of this motion would be insulting the general sense of the House. The necessity of a government being speedily found to the interest and satisfaction of the country, may be clearly seen by the state of our resources, the interruption of our commerce, and the distracted situation of the empire. This interregnum can answer no other purpose but debilitating those springs of government which have been already too much enfeebled. How culpable are those, then, who have been the advisers of his Majesty to refuse appointing an administration, whose abilities and exertions might restore the government to its proper tone of policy and principle!

In regard to what has been observed by an honourable gentleman (Mr. Martin) respecting the coalition, which has been so much
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the subject of general surprize and conversation, is it any delinquency of character, any desertion of connection, any destruction of principle, to coalesce for the purpose merely of giving to the country a government, in which they can only depend for protection and assistance? Is it not a period for every description of men to lay aside all personal—personal I do not mean, I mean public prejudices, when public welfare so immediately calls for unanimity? It is only by unanimity that a permanent and competent Ministry can be formed, adequate to the present necessities of the country. It has been alluded, that this coalition has been formed between those who could never act in concert for the general welfare. How can this be asserted with such confidence, when it is known, that in every administration every member of it will have a shade of difference in opinion. But yet will any one say, that this shade of opinion can render the general exertions of that Ministry ineffectual for the common interest? The noble Lord has his opinions it is true, which may be different from mine: but still, in the great scale of Government, they can have no weight or consequence. Our coalition is founded on necessity, and cemented by an assurance of our exertions being directed effectually for the purposes of relieving the nation from its pressing and immediate necessities. But what I have chiefly

to mention is, that I am not a little surprized to find those who now reprobate the coalition with the noble Lord among those of his old friends. Surely this is an improper censure, from those who were formerly his greatest and most connected adherents. Are they not as much to be censured by us, his new friends, for having before deserted him, as they have now reason to censure us, for uniting with the noble Lord? They will, perhaps, answer, that they thought it consistent with their duty to their country, to leave a man, whom they considered as possessing principles repugnant to its real interests. I now can make the same plea for coalescing with the noble Lord. I consider it my duty to my country to join him, or any man, however I may have formerly differed with him on political grounds, in removing a Minister who has been, by a vote of this House, particularly found acting inconsistently with the interest and honour of the nation: so that while they condemn our coalition upon this principle, they tacitly condemn their own principles in leaving the noble Lord. If it be culpable to coalesce with him on the principle of general welfare, it was equally censurable in them to forfeit their long friendships on the same foundation. To forfeit or to cultivate friendship for public advantage, is equally a crime by this mode of reasoning. But had they not been formerly
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the friends of the noble Lord, surely they are as equally censurable for acting and countenancing those whom they have lately voted inadequate to the stations they have arrogated to themselves. May it not be said, with the same propriety of crimination, Is it becoming in you to countenance those, by your support and vindication, whom Parliament have thought proper to reprobate? But if they espouse his conduct and character, from a knowledge and conviction of its being necessary to the real and absolute interest of the nation, I should then agree with them in principle, though not in propriety of conduct. I should say, they would act right, but they thought wrong. I should have been happy to have seen in their conduct any reason for such an opinion. I should not then have thought that their adhering to the noble Lord, arose more from prejudices against others, than principles of attachment and confidence towards him. It is very evident, that no man in his senses can conceive an attachment, where he has found such just reason for suspicion and reprobation. There can be no attachment without confidence. Men may pretend attachment to some, as a pretext for their enmity to others; this, I am too well assured, is the conduct of certain gentlemen in their present censure of this coalition, for me to desire their praise, or depreciate their censure, We are to con-
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fide on the purity and propriety of our intention for that approbation and confidence, which, I trust, the result of this coalition will command. It is entered upon for the grand and sole purpose of forming a connexion, that shall give stability and authority to a government which is enfeebled by its own abuse and unprincipled exertion.

But with regard to the motion itself, I trust that it will be carried without one dissentient voice. For if ever there was a time for unanimity, it was the present period. It is only by unanimity that a proper system of government can be formed. The nation has only to depend on that government, which is founded on the coalition, or unanimity, call it which you please, of every description of men and measures. It is unanimity alone that can restore the affairs of the government into those hands who are deserving, and shall receive the confidence of the people; and without this confidence, no administration can, or ought to presume to act for the public advantage. It is, therefore, that I particularly reprobate the presumption of men, who will accept of places which they have neither the ability, or necessary authority to execute, with honour to themselves, and advantage to their country. For those who accept of the important offices of government without being competent to its consequence and concern, are, in my opinion, traitors to
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their country. They betray its interests to their own pride and presumption. It is for this reason I would especially hope, that this Address may go to the throne with that unanimity which shall give it due and proper consequence. I would have his Majesty read its sense and meaning by the general desire of his Parliament to have it presented. So that I trust this Address will pass *nemine contradicente*.

GOVERNOR JOHNSTONE.

Mr. Speaker. Though I agree with the honourable gentlemen who have with so much truth and energy depicted the melancholy posture of our affairs, and though I agree with them in the indispensable necessity of an administration, capable of restoring the consequence and dignity of this country; still I am a determined enemy to any dark surmises and suspicions levelled against a noble and learned Lord, insinuating that his Lordship was the sole impediment to the formation of a government, by giving pernicious counsel to the crown. This was a bold and extraordinary charge, which I am sure has no existence, even from the right honourable gentleman's temper and fervour in urging any accusation supported even on grounds of probability. No man better knows how to shade even a colour of testimony that has a tendency to criminate the object of his persecution.

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But in the present instance, I hold it unfair, unmanly, nay illiberal, to introduce so illustrious, so great, and virtuous a character into a conversation, whose aim it is to criminate him without a charge, or testimony of having in any wise protracted the arrangement so necessary, and so earnestly expected. If the right honourable gentleman knows, with any certainty or precision, that the noble Lord has given pernicious counsel, I call upon him to state the foundation of his knowledge, and not wound by insinuation a man whom I consider as the most illustrious prop and pillar of the constitution, and who not only is assisted by heaven with the most liberal and unbounded understanding, but also adorned with every amiable virtue of the heart.

The right honourable gentleman has dilated also on the benefits arising from the present coalition. For my part I cordially wish that the country may derive advantages from the new arrangement, though I am free to confess I have no great hopes from the junction of men whom I know to entertain sentiments the most discordant, on constitutional points of the first importance. If I could understand that the virtues and abilities of men of all parties and descriptions were to be cemented, without any view to power or self-interest, and impelled by no motive but the public weal; then I should be sanguine in my hopes that the remaining part of a dismembered

bered empire might be placed in a situation to recover some part of her former lustre and glory. I do not, for my part, see how it can serve any purpose of the right honourable gentleman, to state to the House that an illustrious character in another assembly had given very improper advice, merely because the right honourable gentleman did not like his aspect: and from the imputation of sullenness and a sturdy countenance, he wishes us to conclude with him, that he must be the adviser of the present interregnum. But I, for one man, will never come to a conclusion against any man from insinuations such as are unsuitable to the dignity of the House to attend to, and extremely unworthy of the good sense of the honourable gentleman to urge in so august an assembly.

The language I hear to-day concerning coalition and unanimity, astonishes me beyond the power of expression; when I behold men of the first characters and talents proscribed, as it were, from the service of their country. If gentlemen think it wonderful to find a union of interest and sentiments between the noble Lord in the blue ribband and the right honourable gentleman, I would have them recollect, that no administration can ever be formed, if animosities are to be fomented and cherished for ever. But why not select able men from a third party, and then establish such a coalition as would completely eradicate the

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seeds of future discord and dissensions. When I give this admonition, I do it from the most cordial persuasion of its necessity to form a system solid and permanent, confessing myself an unconnected member of this House, without importance or expectations. I assert only my independent right to speak my sentiments, which has been my constant practice, uninfluenced by the frowns of power, or the hopes which emasculate and corrupt dependent minds. I do well recollect severities and altercations on every side of this House, nor can I at this moment point my finger at any principal leader in this House, who is not now supported by some individuals, who, on former occasions, had criminated his measures and opinions. This being the true state and description of men, why shall we not accede to a general amnesty, and now unite with cordiality in support of a country almost inevitably sunk into perdition by the corruption and abuse of talents, applied not to the purposes of the state, but the vile and abominable purpose of place-hunting and ambition.

Mr. F O X.

Mr. Speaker, I beg leave to assure the House, that I did not mean any personality to the noble and learned Lord, for I once honoured and esteemed him, and do now, as my friend; and I do assure the honourable gentleman,

tleman, that I have not the smallest enmity to the learned Lord, nor any other difference but what arises from variance in our political sentiments. As to the evidence necessary to prove and realize my suspicions, I confess I cannot introduce them ; but as I always presume the crown has advisers, so I concluded very naturally, that the learned Lord, from his official situation, must be the adviser in the present ministerial interregnum. It is true I have suspicions, that there may be secret and *intruding* advisers even in this House, and persons who are said to have had an influence on the royal ear for a series of past time, and who composed what was called the interior cabinet (*Mr. Fox, all this time, looked very stedfastly at Mr. Jenkinson.*) Though it seldom happens that I accord in sentiments with the honourable gentleman, and still I agree with him in the necessity of abolishing old animosities, since the cause which originally produced them (the American war) was now finally terminated.

Mr. JENKINSON,

I should not rise to intrude my sentiments on the House, if I did not perceive such personal allusions to me by the right honourable gentleman, as could not have been mistaken ; nor can I submit to them, conscious as I am of their injustice, without explaining myself as far as I am able, and ex-

culpating my past and present conduct from the insinuations so unjustly and undeservedly levelled at my character. The right honourable gentleman has charged me as one composing a secret cabinet of admonition and counsel to his Majesty. I not only assert the charge to be unfounded, but I appeal to his own candour, whether he ever knew me when he was minister, obtrude my counsel or advice. It is true, that I thought it my duty to attend whenever my royal Master condescended to command my presence; and if this is alledged as any offence, I am ready to plead guilty to the accusation. I also call upon the noble Lord in the blue ribband, and I challenge him to declare, if he, or any other man, could discover me an officious meddling intruder, or presumptuous enough to offer any opinion of mine, unless officially called upon. This appeal is natural enough, from a man bold in defence of his character. I am that man, challenging the noble Lord, or the right honourable gentleman, to convict, from their own knowledge; and they both have had opportunity, from their official situation, to urge a single circumstance tending to justify the inuendos directed so openly against my life and practice.

Mr.

Mr. MACDONALD.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot but express my astonishment at the coalition of the noble Lord with the right honourable gentleman, who, for a series of years, uniformly reviled and traduced all his measures. He persecuted him even in his private walk of life; and, not content with this, the noble Lord's friends were branded with every odious and opprobrious epithet. They were called his minions, tools, and hirelings. It is true, they could not sorely feel such epithets, which they were conscious not to have deserved; but they must be pungently impressed with resentment, to be handed over, and consigned by the noble Lord, as if they were a bill of exchange. Having answered his Lordship's occasions, he left them to seek at large for a leader; and he united himself with men who traduced his friends, for no other cause but that of their adherence and attachment.

I think the right honourable gentleman near me (Mr. Chancellor Pitt) never, in all his life, made use of a more inapplicable metaphor, than when he compared the present coalition to a solemnization of marriage, and forbid the banns. To enter into that state, it was necessary that there should pre-exist a habit of friendship, an intercourse, a confidence, an affection, an interchange of
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of affectionate endearments. But could any man say that this was the situation of the noble Lord in the blue ribband, and the right honourable gentleman? No; the very reverse was the real complexion of their relative correspondence with each other; and yet, to the amazement of the public, they are now uniting to form an administration which many find fault with, *some commend*, and which all mankind detest. As for the motion for this Address, I see no absolute necessity for pressing it to day, for in all probability an administration may be formed, without having recourse to such a desperate measure, in three or four days. I am not so ignorant of the history of my country, and its transactions, as not to recollect and fear the dangers resulting from encroachments on the royal prerogative. It was not the first time that an address similar to the present, was followed up by another, which nearly convulsed the empire; I therefore must move for the order of the day, as the most easy method of disposing of the original motion at this unseasonable hour.

Mr. F O X.

I only rise, Sir, to observe to the honourable gentleman, that I think he too severely and unjustly resents the noble Lord's conduct, in not pinning his judgment and opinions entirely on his system of attachment
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and conduct; but this may be natural enough for a gentleman of his abilities, spirit, and forgiveness. I once recollect the honourable gentleman to have pronounced a Philippic against the noble Lord, and to have shaken hands together in a day or two after. The gentleman ascribes this motion to an eagerness in gentlemen to obtain places and power. For my own part, I feel an honourable earnestness and anxiety to serve my country, in conjunction with men, who, I repeat it, have no division or jealousy whatever reigning amongst them, to give the slightest impediment to the formation of an administration on that broad bottom which alone can give that stability, firmness and utility, which alone can promote the public welfare.

Sir CHARLES TURNER.

I must trouble the House for a few moments: for I have received Letters from persons in Ireland, America, and every part of England and Scotland, to know my opinion of the state and situation of the country. My opinion is, that the noble Lord in the blue ribband has been the chief instrument of the ruin of this country, in being the author and supporter of the American War. To this American War we are to attribute our present distresses. This cursed war—for a cursed war I may surely call it, which has deprived me, a single individual only, of
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2000l. year. Can any gentleman, then, dispute my right to execrate a war in which I, for one, so immediately feel its destructive and ruinous consequences. We talk of bringing persons to censure; but, unhappily for this country, it is only talk: instead of enquiries or crimination, we are rewarding the destroyers of our existence with peerages. The only means by which honour is now obtained, is to espouse and prosecute principles that can effectually destroy our honour, happiness, and possessions. Let a man for a series of years persevere in the destruction of the country, and you will find his labours gratefully crowned with title and preferment. The ruin of the nation is the only road to preferment. But what would censure do? Had I my will, I would expel the noble Lord from a seat in this House, whose Constituents he has brought to the verge of annihilation. Yes, Sir, I would expel the noble Lord.

As to the coalition which has been so much the subject of debate, I confess myself one of its severest enemies. Sorry am I to see my honourable friend (Mr. Fox) behind me*, give his hand to a man whom I know his heart cannot approve, unless it be by the error of his head. I thought I

* Mr. Fox, just before, happened to be sitting within a few seats on the same bench, which mistake occasioned a loud laugh.

had been tied to him. But I trust we shall again be of one opinion. For I know his heart. He will see his error. It must have been a mistake of his head. His heart will still bring him through. But, at the same time, I am sorry to see the injury which he has done his own reputation, by this cursed coalition. But, although I must so severely condemn the public character and conduct of the noble Lord, let me not detract from the integrity and honour of his private character. Is there a better father, husband, or friend? Are not his family and private relations, and connexions, blessed in his virtues? He is a man that has my praise and my admiration, as a private man: but as a public character, I cannot but execrate his conduct and opinions.

The learned gentleman (Mr. Macdonald) has talked of marriage being founded on sympathy of manners, sentiments, and feelings. But let me inform the learned gentleman, that marriage now has no such principle. It is founded on interest only. But with regard to the marriage alluded to by the learned gentleman, there is no interest in it to be found. It is similar to a fortune-hunter, who goes a courting to a woman who has nothing, and when they are fixed, find themselves only with four naked legs in a bed. However, I wish the coalition may have its desired intention. But from

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my knowledge and experience of that difference of sentiment, which must ever exist in minds so dissonant in their nature, I am afraid it will be deficient of that harmony, which can constitute the cement of national welfare. As to the Address, it has my hearty approbation and concurrence.

Lord NORTH.

I feel myself in particular called upon to answer some things which have fallen from the learned gentleman over the way, as I plainly see that many, or most of that gentleman's observations, were directly pointed at me. The coalition so much talked of, has been represented by this gentleman as *detested by all*. This, Sir, would indeed appear to be a censure most dreadfully severe; but the same learned gentleman has mitigated it, by candidly allowing, that this very coalition had indeed received the approbation of a few. The learned gentleman has observed, Sir, that my sentiments on a very important subject, the influence of the crown, were avowedly opposite to those of the other party. I freely acknowledge it, Sir. My opinion, Sir, ever was, that the influence of the people was too great, the influence of the crown too little. Neither do I now abandon these sentiments. At this moment I am as firmly convinced that this is the case; more firmly, if that be possible, than ever. I have
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seen no reason to alter my opinion upon that head, but quite the contrary. Do not all the events which daily present themselves to view, conspire to strengthen and confirm this opinion? Does not every thing shew us the diminished influence of the crown, and the prevailing influence of the people? But if the learned gentlemen think that this difference of sentiment, in that particular case, is an insuperable bar to every species of union, I must confess I do not see any sufficient ground for entertaining such an opinion. Whenever my ideas concerning the prevailing influence of the people are manifestly controverted, I shall feel myself bound in duty, however unpopular such a measure may be, to stand in opposition; but shall this hinder me from acting in concert with gentlemen, whose opinions, though ever so different on that subject, yet, in other cases, may happen entirely to coincide with mine? It appears to be the general desire of the nation, and the most likely means of saving it in its present perilous situation, that an administration should be formed upon a broad and permanent basis; a strong administration, that should unite the ideas, the influence, and the whole abilities of the nation; and is this possibly to be done by conjuring up these causes of separation, or indeed in any other way, than by getting the better of former prejudices, forgiving all resentments, and extinguishing all party dis-

putes and animosities. The learned gentleman supposes me to think that I could transfer, like a bill of exchange, those gentlemen who honoured me with their support when I acted in public life. Nothing, Sir, can be more distant from my thoughts than such an idea. Those gentlemen, Sir, I know to be men who can think and act for themselves; independent members of this House, who certainly have a right, and whose duty it unquestionably is, to stand by me no longer than I appear to them to act from just principles, and with a view to the real interest of this country. I can appeal to those gentlemen who long honoured me with their confidence and support, and who, I hope, some of them at least, will still continue to honour me with their countenance, whether at any time I have presumed to dictate to them in any case; whether they have not been at all times at full freedom to oppose any particular ideas of mine, as they saw occasion; whether I have met their conduct at any time with censure, reproach, or even an *ill-humoured look*. The learned gentleman seems to hold me out in this light, to the gentlemen who think with him. He has abandoned us; he has given us up. He has sacrificed us to his own interest and ambition. But how have I abandoned them? How have I sacrificed them? Is it because in the present instance I happen to differ in opinion from the learned gentleman?

gentleman? The gentleman has there given a specimen of the candour with which he would act as the leader of a party. He opposes and detests my conduct, merely because I happen to differ from him. But it appears to be the general desire, and is evidently for the advantage of the nation, that former prejudices should be forgotten; that all animosities and resentments should be buried in oblivion; that men of every description, should unite in exerting their utmost endeavours in the service of their king and their country. The nation at present is in a distracted situation, without a government, when the vigorous exertions of government are very much needed. The arrangement of an administration is a much desired object, and to hasten it, the motion before the house is evidently intended. I can affirm with confidence, that his Majesty has no other desire than to adopt such measures as may be most for the honour and the interest of this country. I wish therefore, the gentleman would withdraw his opposition to a motion evidently directed to serve the most salutary purposes, as the contrary conduct must tend only to promote confusion and discord. I wish this House to be as unanimous as possible, since by being so they are most likely to succeed. A right honourable gentleman, who conceived that some insinuations had been thrown out against him, as having been principally concerned in advising
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his Majesty to all the measures which were adopted in prosecuting the American war, has called upon me to declare from my personal knowledge how far these insinuations are founded in truth; in justice to that gentleman, I now publicly declare, that to my certain knowledge the charge is without foundation.

A worthy Baronet near me (Sir Charles Turner) has told you, that he thought a motion should have been made, at the same time with that for putting an end to the American War, for expelling me from this House. From power and authority that motion concerning the American War did expel me; but why my conduct in that great national concern should deserve so signal a mark of the displeasure of this House as expulsion, I am at a loss to know: I ever had in view the honour and interest of this nation; I constantly asserted its just rights, and my whole conduct in that affair was founded in solid and substantial principles. We were unfortunate; but the situation of our enemies, and the military and naval force provided to encounter them were such as then seemed to promise success. I sit down now, Sir, with wishing, that the House would be unanimous in the Address to the Throne, as I conceive it to be the most expedient measure, for bringing on speedily the much desired arrangement. Some unaccountable cause of delay there is, but where it is I do not pretend

pretend to say: this one thing I can say, that it is not in the first Personage of the kingdom, nor in either of the component parts of that much talked of coalition, from their supposed disputes. The Address moved is the most likely means of bringing it to an issue. I therefore conclude with wishing, that all opposition to this measure may be removed, and that this House may be as unanimous as possible upon the present important occasion.

Chancellor PITT.

I have sat still during this whole debate, and wished to avoid entering into it; but some things have fallen from different Members in the course of debate which have moved me, contrary to my inclination, to trouble the House with a few remarks. I see how alarming the situation of this country is without an Administration, without the common functions of Government, at a period so critical, when business crowds upon us from all quarters: and I can by no means agree with the learned gentleman, who opposed the motion, that this mode of address is a breach of the Constitution, an infringement of the Royal Prerogative: I ever must maintain, that this House has a right, and on occasions like these is bound in duty to lay before the Throne, in an humble and decent manner, their sentiments and the sentiments of
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of their Constituents, the people at large. Neither can I agree with the noble Lord in the blue ribband, that the utter renunciation of all principle, is only getting the better of former prejudices, extinguishing party animosities, and stifling resentments: and I wish the House to know, that these are my sentiments. If these are the grounds on which this coalition founds its pretences to the confidence of the nation, I, for one, find myself obliged to withhold that confidence. But if this coalition should be found in event to answer the great purposes which it holds forth, preserving concord in the nation, and promoting its true interest and glory, I am sure no man can more sincerely and heartily rejoice, than I shall, upon the actual view of such desirable consequences. I own, that I laboured under much doubt and uncertainty when I came into this House, and was strongly led to believe, that this long and untimely delay in settling the arrangement of administration, was owing to disputes between parties, and the wide difference of sentiments; but I acknowledge myself obliged to the noble Lord in the blue ribband for removing all these doubts and uncertainties, and declaring to the House openly that no disputes of ambition interfered, nor any difference of opinions and principles; but that the harmony and concord was perfect and complete, such a symmetry and union of sentiments as was not to be broken upon every slight occasion,
and

Lord NORTH

Mr. FOX.

I rise to satisfy the right honourable gentleman over the way, with respect to the supposed disputes between the component parts of the coalition : I can assure the right honourable gentleman, upon my honour, that no disputes of theirs have occasioned the
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smallest delay in settling Administration. The right honourable gentleman has mentioned six hours as the duration of this difficulty: I cannot precisely fix the time, but I have authority to say, that the time of this difficulty between a noble Duke and the noble Lord in the blue ribband was indeed very short.

LORD JOHN CAVENDISH.

Spoke in favour of the motion and coalition, insisted, that the principal objection to Lord North, was his sentiments and conduct on the American War; that being now happily removed, he saw no reason why the nation should in other things refuse that confidence, which his Lordship's acknowledged and distinguished abilities merited. Such was the uproar in the House, that he could not be heard.

LORD SURREY.

I rise, Sir, only to observe, that I was led to support the motion before you, because I thought it expedient in the present situation, and my duty as a Member of Parliament. I declare, that I entertain no prejudices against any parties whatever; but wish to see a period put to this scene of anarchy and confusion. I wish not to encroach on the prerogative of the Crown, but think this motion may be the best means of putting

ting an end to that uncertainty, with respect to the cause of delaying the much desired arrangement, for the want of which we feel ourselves so much embarrassed.

Sir Joseph Mawbey arose, and made some observations upon the Address, which could not be heard, on account of the perpetual call for the Question. The honourable Baronet having concluded his speech, the Question was put and carried, with a very few dissentient voices.

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